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ABSTRACT

Major concerns of educators and government officials in Europe regarding the post-compulsory school system are explored. The document is presented in five chapters. Chapter I discusses problems of access to education, the transition of school leavers to employment, and employment problems of school dropouts. Chapter II investigates objectives of adult education and explores motivations for participation in adult education programs. A major area of concern is whether adult education is a tool for social equalization, professional advancement, or self-fulfillment. Chapter III examines social premises and ideology surrounding lifelong education. Chapter IV presents critical remarks on some ideological assumptions of continuing education. Chapter V reviews comparative research on educational development in eastern and western Europe. Recommendations are made for translating research findings into guidelines for action, developing a historical analytical framework, and restricting the scope of studies about the future of continuing education to a period of 15 to 20 years. A section of notes and references concludes the document. (DB)

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IN WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES

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Ideology and Reality

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WLADYSLAW W. ADAMSKI

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NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

Wladyslaw Adamski is a member of the Council of the Institute of Education. He is a sociologist and the deputy Director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science.

He is the author of the following books, among others :

- The Young Generation of the U.S.A., 1977.
- Youth and Society, 1976.
- The Farmer and the Future of the Countryside, 1974.
- The Determinants of Social Activities, 1971.

Despite well known political, ideological and cultural differences one can observe in both West and Eastern Europe some striking similarities in the nature of those social phenomena which persistently attract public comment and interest. In both types of system post-compulsory education is among the top priorities of any list of widely discussed problems. Let us examine this further. What are the main sources of concern for those educationalists and politicians who bear responsibility for the functioning of the post-compulsory school system in 1978 ?

I. DAY-TIME SCHOOLING :
PROBLEMS OF ACCESS AND EMPLOYMENT

Students claim that knowledge given them should be tied to broader problems of an ethical and social nature. This is where the most important question appears to emerge : to what extent can these new motivational structures, connected with the intended level of social equality on the one hand, and with the higher level of technological development and structural change on the other, be supported by educational systems and cultural patterns of educational aspiration still prevailing among different population strata. (1)

In Western countries a main source of concern at the moment is the transition of day-time school leavers to employment. Dysfunctions occurring at this stage manifest themselves mostly in youth unemployment, but also in the discrepancy between what young people are taught and what the labour market offers them. This discrepancy we refer to as the "uncoupling" of education and work.

So far as youth unemployment is concerned, the relevant statistics for the nine Member States of the European Communities show a

development by 1976, at least five times higher than ten years before in 1966. There is no precise information available that would allow us to measure the frequency and extent of this "uncoupling" (defined as the "disconnection between content of education or training received and actual content of the job assumed") (2) but it is quite clear that apart from the implications of technological development there is also to be considered an increasing "waste of scarce human resources and individual frustration on a large scale". (3) Clearly we must consider this, in both social and individual terms as a highly undesirable result of the various forms of "uncoupling".

Compared with employment opportunities, access to higher education currently attracts much less public concern in Western societies. This is not to say, of course, that the problem does not exist. Quite the contrary may well prove to be the case as a result of the ever growing dissemination of ideologies of equal opportunity on the one hand, and of the somewhat stagnant or at least only slowly improving, representation of the lower classes in the social composition of the university population on the other. There is, in fact, a widening gap emerging between an ideology which promises free access to the "academy" for everyone, and the actual possibilities of fulfilment of this promise in practice (4). But it is possible that awareness of this disparity will not gain sufficient strength to become a priority issue until the psychological consequences of the current economic slowdown cease to play as important a role as they do at the present.

In spite of some unquestionable successes achieved in the democratisation of education, the hierarchy of publicly acknowledged problems in Eastern Europe is the reverse of what it is in the West. Public opinion is particularly sensitive to the fact that, despite the various radical school reforms undertaken in order to translate the highly praised ideological requirement of educational opportunity (5) into reality, the current school systems keeps functioning more or less on the basis of social selection. This is evidenced by the fact that in the last five years or so the number of applicants to

university has been roughly twice as high as that of those admitted, and at the same time, that children of worker and peasant backgrounds remain strongly overrepresented among applicants who fail to be admitted (6). Contrary to the situation prevailing in the West, the socialist economies of the East have proved capable of absorbing virtually all post-compulsory graduates. This does not mean however that in a planned economy everyone will necessarily find a job exactly fitting his or her educational qualifications and specific professional interests. (7)

One might argue - and this is potentially the most significant point - that these priorities are stressing first, the insufficiency of jobs for highly trained young specialists, and second, the insufficiency of places in higher education institutions ; and that they represent not only factors in which the relevant socio-political systems differ, but also an indication as to what these systems have in common. This is the fact that educational establishments are now unable to cope efficiently, either with changing technological and occupational structures, or with the demands of the economy, or with the hierarchies of people's values and educational aspirations.

Very likely, the most weighty indication of the difficulties faced by contemporary educational systems is the fact that continuous growth of educational expenditure is accompanied by a virtually proportional growth of dissatisfaction with the effects of school education. Dissatisfaction is also growing among the increasingly numerous groups of students in post-compulsory and (especially) higher education as well as among potential employers of these graduates, who have to judge upon the usefulness of their professional and social qualifications. The sources of these two forms of discontent, apart from their common elements, appear to be specific for the various social systems we are considering. In the developed capitalist countries, experts dealing with educational policy and economy - probably not without justification - point to the poor coordination between spontaneous educational aspirations, and the social demands

made by national economies. Similarly a weak point in the educational development of the socialist countries appears to be the insufficient flexibility of planning processes where they relate to the training of specialists of particular types.

The negative implications of rigid educational planning for social development are most evident in situations where accelerated technological change determines the demand for training in new professional specialisms. As it relates to a short time span, rigorous educational planning is unable to take into account satisfactorily the educational aspirations deriving from the translation of understood objectives of economic development in professional categories. Indeed too detailed educational planning appears to exert a restraining effect on the innovative capacity expected in modern times from educational systems.

Looking at the contemporary shape of European educational systems in a more distant, historical perspective, it appears that the majority of the problems they face are in fact simply those arising from a situation of structural crisis, and thus, in one way or another, related to a basically new stage in the development of educational institutions. Making use of Martin Trow's concepts, we are able to define this stage as that of the transition from an elite school system to that of a mass character (8). It is characterized by the predominance of general education at the level of post-compulsory school, and by at least 15 - 25 o/o of the population participating in full-time higher education. Mass access to post-secondary school and especially to university-type education cannot, of course, fail to exert some influence on the social function of the higher education degree. Among the various transformations of the social role of higher education therefore that are taking place before our eyes is a rapid decrease in its perceived relative value. Inflation of diplomas is a major cause of this, in that they cease to serve as an infallible warrant of the privileged socio-professional position of the most educated.

Against this background of deep change in the structure of the social functions fulfilled by post-compulsory education, the most ironic phenomenon is the persistence of traditional patterns of educational aspiration which underlie motivation for undertaking higher studies. By force of inertia, characteristic of all processes of cultural transmission, a decisive role in the formation and realization of educational aspiration still appears to be performed by patterns of human behaviour oriented more towards instrumental than self-realizing functions of education. Despite the relative and absolute decrease in the supply of significant social and professional positions, the great majority of university students and graduates continue to anticipate privileges which can only be granted to them at a lesser and lesser rate.

The prevailing mode of aspiration and motivation for participation in higher education also tends increasingly to conflict both with the objective trends towards structural transformation in European societies, and the official ideology and options of educational policy (9). This reorientation of educational ideology and policy is being publicly affirmed in governmental programmes and is taking place in both Western and Eastern European countries. In the latter, however, it is occurring in a more visible way, What is the basis of this current reorientation, its aims, and its assumed and officially anticipated functions (10) ?

Generally speaking, the basic long-range tasks of any socialist system of education are subordinated to socialist ideas of economic and social development, and to the all-round development of the personality of each citizen. This includes, above all, education and the improvement of qualifications of skilled labour in line with the planned development of economy and culture. Next to vocational education, the socialism attaches great weight to education in the social sciences seen as a pre-condition of the effective participation of citizens in social activities aimed at bringing about democratic transformation in the sphere of culture and social relations.

In the first stage of the planned restructuring of newly established socialist societies, expectations of the educational system, and evaluation of its political function depended on whether and to what extent it constituted a tool for "social advancement" measured by its effectiviness in promoting the vertical mobility of the working class and peasantry.

However in a period characterized by more stable and intensive growth of economic systems, and after the ranks of the new intelligentsia have been sufficiently expanded to meet the social needs of each country, a stage of qualitative transformation has set in, during which the educational system is expected to perform genuinely new tasks. The *Report on the State of Education in the People's Republic of Poland*, published in 1973, has underlined the belief that the school system, instead of being a "ladder serving individuals to climb up from the bottom social positions to higher ones", should aim at "equal importance" being given to all socio-professional roles, regardless of their place in the social division of labour (11). The new view of the school as a means of economic and cultural advancement, and not as a "ladder" leading to "higher positions", assumes that the structure of values and criteria for social position inherited from pre-socialist systems will lose its importance. *Mutatis mutandis*, a similar trend in changing expectations of educational policy can be observed in Western European countries.

What may well be a common denominator of current West and East European educational policy and ideology is the attempt to impose a new scale of values, attaching more importance to professional mastery acquired by the individual in his education than to the "high post" this secures him in the social division of labour. In other words the function of school as a channel for social mobility may be dwindling out. Thus in both school systems it would appear that we are tackling the problem of changing aspirations and their value-basis. Increasingly the aspirations of the younger generation are deviating from what is offered them through the present educational system.

II. ADULT EDUCATION :

A TOOL FOR SOCIAL EQUALISATION

OR DIFFERENTIATION ?

One of the most important, but unintended, consequences of the post-war expansion of education is the growth in social demand for adult education and the development of traditional as well as modern (i.e. radio and television, etc...), types of programmes at this level. In spite of visible differences between East and West Europe in what concerns the organizational forms and principles of implementing and, even more so, sponsoring adult education, it appears to be developing along basically similar lines. Thus one common causative factor is an anxiety to regain lost chance particularly strong among the generation that had too little opportunity to attend school when they were young. A second is the acceleration of change in contemporary technologies, which creates a general need for higher professional qualifications. Whereas in the West, especially in Scandinavia, pressure for the development of adult education is caused mainly by the belief that inter-generational disproportions in the level of education attained should be levelled out, in the East economic and technological motives for the development of additional professional qualifications still appear to prevail. As a Polish expert in adult education states "the force behind the continuing growth of institutions seems to be the ..... need of a rapidly developing technology requiring to have at its base the most modern technological achievements" (12). In socialist societies the interest of employees in further schooling is more often of an instrumental character as might be expected. This is due to the pragmatism that prevails in the approach of socialized industry towards adult education as well as to a relatively lower standard of economic development - and thus stronger pressures of basic material needs.

In Eastern Europe, more often than in the West, the decision to attend institutions of adult education is based on a straightforward utilitarian motivation, oriented rather towards obtaining a diploma which adds to one's professional qualifications and income, or alternatively on gaining a higher social position, than on values of education and learning relating to self-realisation. Such a difference in individual motivations for participation, and also in the content and programmes of adult education sponsored in some way by the state or the social organizations, is particularly striking when one compares the situation in the socialist countries with that in Scandinavia and especially Sweden.

In spite of these differences, the rapid quantitative development of adult education is a common feature of the socio-political systems in both East and West. Statistical comparisons show that during the seventies the participation rate in the various types of adult education has varied in a majority of countries between 20 and 25 o/o of the total adult population. A distinguishing feature of the socialist countries is the higher ratio of adult education programmes oriented towards granting participants diplomas of secondary or higher education. But, independent of the aims of particular adult education organizations in both parts of Europe, the results of their activities are to a high degree similar. The decisive factor in this similarity is that on the whole it involves a considerable amount of social selection on account of the modern methods of diffusion used. It would appear that as a result of this selectivity, those for whom the institutions of adult education were created originally, are in fact the last to avail themselves of them.

Research carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany points out, that "depending on the level attained before leaving school, participation rates in furter vocational education range from 9,8 o/o for those who have no initial training to 54,4 o/o for those who have attended teacher training colleges" (13). The same source shows that employees participating in additional training comprise a subs-

tantial majority of young people, under 34 years of age. A similar picture is obtained from studies on adult education in Finland. Over one third of all participants in various forms of additional training are composed of youth under 20, and another 30 o/o of young adults aged between 21 and 30. Similarly unequal is the proportional representation of particular social and professional groups. For example, professional training programmes were attended by 4,7 o/o of unskilled workers, 12 o/o qualified workers, 22,3 o/o lower white collar workers and over 33 o/o executives. (14)

In the socialist countries the social differentiation in participation in education both within the school system and in adult education is less sharp. This tendency is evidenced by the fact that in Poland a majority of those who after the Second World War obtained university diplomas were workers and peasants, or persons of similar background (15). However most of the participants in out-of-school vocational training are employees of higher than average education or people with higher social and professional position. A sample of 3150 employees of Polish industry investigated in 1973, reveals that 53 o/o of those investigated aged under 20 attended educational programmes while continuing to hold a full-time job ; 37,2 o/o of those aged between 21 and 24, 16,2 o/o of those aged 25-29, and only 2,3 o/o of those aged over 45 did the same. Thus general tendency is confirmed : employees with a higher level of education participate relatively more often in additional training, and their aspirations to participate in adult education in the future are also more marked (16).

These empirical sources prove the existence of marked discrepancies between the aims set to adult education and its real social scope. Hence, the conclusion reached by the authors of the Finnish investigations quoted above seems correct "Those whom one would imagine to require additional training least, participate most and those for whom training would seem most essential participate least".

III. LIFELONG EDUCATION :

SOCIAL PREMISES AND IDEOLOGY

Traditional educational systems and systems of adult education both have clearly obvious points of weakness. Neither is capable of offering equal opportunities of access to educational institutions or of meeting the increasing needs of modern business with respect to the education and training of qualified employees. Furthermore traditional educational institutions are not able to make any progress in solving the basic contradiction between their narrow and instrumentalist function at the service of the productive system and that of the self-realisation of each human being by means of the development of flexible cognitive potential and creative predispositions.

What must to be done to find a way forward from this crisis situation in contemporary education ? Regardless of their different ideologies or even contradictory philosophies, experts of both systems have arrived almost simultaneously at conclusions which, in their formulation and content, are absolutely identical. The remedy for the weaknesses and inadequacies of the existing educational system that they have conceived, is most widely known under the names of "lifefong", "continuing" or "recurrent" education. The leading ideas that are to guide educational policy for the late seventies and thereafter have been outlined by an expert group of the OECD : they stress "the need to see education and not just vocational training, as a continuing process.... and the best way to cope with the pressures and events of change.... Policies in all countries must provide better opportunities for alternating and mixing education and training with work.... Youth and adult education (should) be interconnected.... For people of all ages there should be more flexible rules enabling them to move between (and within) education, work and leisure".(17)

Arguments and Directives for the basic reform of educational structures in the socialist countries are going in the same direction. The authors of the *Report on the State of Education in the People's Republic of Poland* point out the necessity to create a system of continuing education, arguing that it requires a rational integration of educational activity at all levels : family, nursery school, primary and secondary school, higher education, postgraduate studies, post-school professional qualification, and adult education. Such an integration would facilitate the distribution of benefits from education over an individual's full life span. As a result, "in the process of teaching the stress could be laid on the development of creative and expressive talents, on the furthering of the motivation for further learning, on the ability to critically review and refresh one's already acquired knowledge". (18)

As happens with many important innovations, the idea of continuing education has been adopted in both Western and Eastern Europe as an almost unchallenged basis for a number of revolutionary educational reforms already undertaken in the last few years, or being planned for the near future. Looking at the concept of continuing education from the sociological perspective, one is struck by its truly inventive and scientifically productive methodological foundation. The argument is that in the world of today the success of substantial school reform depends as it never did before on what is happening outside the educational establishment. Any future change in education depends on the direction and scope of change of society as a whole, and particularly upon changes in its dominant socio-political structures as well as in prevailing cultural values and aspirations, not to mention relevant changes in hitherto predominant personality characteristics. The nature of this interdependency implies that in order to gain more insight into educational processes, it is not sufficient to study only educational ideas and institutions themselves ; on the contrary one has to incorporate into future educational research that larger reality which exists outside school, particularly the nature of the working environment.

A first examination of the environment outside school and the concept of continuing education reveals inter alia, the somewhat surprising and contradictory character of their interdependence. It would appear that the powerful social forces which "work" in the steadiest and most efficient way in favour of "lifelong education" (i.e. the new requirements and pressures exerted by economic and technical growth, and new types of human values and aspiration) are counteracting at the same time some of its key objectives. This contradiction becomes clearly evident when one attemps to "obtain a reasonable balance between the needs of the individual for education", (i.e. for an education that provides ample opportunities for creativity and self-fulfilment) and "the need of the economy for skills" (19). Such discrepancies come to the fore particularly strongly in contemporary society, and notably in the fact that the higher stages of the development of industrial society are characterized by both increasing routinism and the fragmentation of tasks and duties of employees on the one hand, and by limitations on personal freedom and the possitility of creative action on the other. The traditional remedies for solving this basic conflict of industrial society have been founded on theories and ideologies relating to the model of social adaptation. But it would appear questionable whether an educational ideal which recommends that contemporary man mobilise his energy towards technological and structural change (in spite of the support given to this ideal by some well-known futorologists) (20) can in our time constitute a sound basis for overcoming the dilemma.

In dealing with such controversial problems most Eastern and Western proponents of continuing education agree that "education should not serve as a means of improvement of the function of human beings in the mechanisms of production as required by society", and that the "personalities of individuals are more important than their skill levels" (21). Some would even claim that "changes in education which radically alter the way in which knowledge is controlled will also lead to corresponding changes in social

structures by shifting the location of power in society" (22). But are these far-reaching expectations realistic ? Is not too much expected from an educational system that would embody the principles of lifelong, permanent or recurrent education ? Doubts of this kind will appear when one reads what the representatives or more radical ideological currents and educational reform have to say.

IV. CRITICAL REMARKS ON SOME IDEOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CONTINUING EDUCATION CONCEPT

Based as it is on the assumption of a further advance in technological growth, and on changes in the hierarchical structure of the division of labour and of professional qualifications, the concept of continuing education is seen as having the potential to become a genuinely revolutionary tool for transforming not only the current nature of educational systems but also the culture and society which has produced them.

But how can this be achieved ? Generally speaking, it is said, through the creation of entirely new, alternative types of culture, and a new man, and by the rejection of any inhuman approach to a man's life-goals, and his attitudes to work, leisure and education : He should become devoted to creative activity, and seek for personal self-fulfilment. The major premises most frequently employed by theorists and ideologically oriented futurologists committed to radical forms of learning society are the following :

1. meritocracy (i.e. any form of testing, evaluation and selection) will no longer play a role in the process of transmitting knowledge and values ;

2. competition and rivalry, which lead inevitably to psychological frustration, social tension and conflict destructive to human personality, will be eliminated ;

3. creative participation, self-fulfilment and "learning by doing" will shift radically from the "prison of necessity and scarcity" to the "realm of freedom and abundance of goods and services" provided for everyone by highly developed economies (23).

The first two of these assumptions apply mainly to the future school environment, whereas the last concerns primarily environment outside school. All three can be regarded as logically justifiable, but serious doubts must be raised as to their feasibility. Even if meritocracy and selectivity could be abolished within the school, it would not only survive, but even gain strength, outside school, and particularly in the working environment. It is quite possible to have a school system functioning without any mechanisms for measuring ability and performance, but it would be sheer utopia to apply the same principles to a modern economy. Similarly each attempt of an educational system to abandon its procedures for evaluating results, and for selection according to these results would imply that at the current stage of organization of industrial society, these functions have to be transferred to institutions outisde the school. This gives rise to a question of great social importance : would this be more advantageous than the existing system ? And more particularly : would it not hurt most of all those whose position is the weakest in social institutions outside the school ?

Even more unrealistic than abolishing meritocracy would seem to be the prospect of doing away with competition and rivalry in any organized educational process or other field of human activity. There

may be some reason to expect that a state of over-abundance of goods and services in post-industrial society will produce a general sense of economic security, and that in such a situation there will be no need for competition and rivalry as far as access to basic material goods is concerned. But it cannot be taken for granted that people will lose the desire and inclination, inculcated through so many generations, to involve themselves in forms of competition intended to improve their share in various of the exclusive material products or any kind of non-material values, which will remain in short supply. The futurological expectation that human competition may disappear remains somewhat utopian in character, at least so long as the present system of human motivation preserves its validity.

Nonetheless, it is highly probable that with the increasing abundance of basic goods and services, leaving behind them the stage of "deficiency needs" and entering that of "metaneeds" to use Abrahm Maslow's phraseology - human beings will feel increasingly safe psychologically and socially and as a result of this enhanced security will, in each new generation, attach less and less importance to the acquisition and possession of material goods. But even if substantial progress is made along these lines, it will still not necessarily mean that man has abandoned his competitive traits and propensities. They could survive at today's level, or even become stronger. What is essential in forecasting the future in this respect is to take into account the possibility of detaching the competitive features of the human personality from their purely materialistic background, and transforming them into other fields of social activity. Disengaged in this way, the potential of human energy will tend - it might be hypothesized - to look for some compensatory fields of activity. There is a high probability that these new, but still competitive motives and behaviour will express themselves in fields such as :

1. the distribution of priveleged socio-professional position ;
2. access to power and prestige not associated with material possession ;
3. accessibility to any sort of creative activity - beginning with educational activity.

Educating for creativity, and the shaping of an open personality, allowing the individual to participate as fully as desired and possible in unlimited forms of human self-fulfilment appears to play a crucial role in strategies of continuing education. Nonetheless is it reasonable to expect that the most fruitful and important breeding ground for developing truly creative traits of personality will be located outside man's work and professional commitments ? Is the generation of creativity going to be located predominantly in leisure time or in idleness, no matter whether chosen voluntarily or forced upon the individual as the result of an ever, decreasing supply of jobs ?

Such a prospect goes against the mainstream of available knowledge about what is actually valid and what may occur in the foreseeable future. It is sufficient to look at the devastating effects of prolonged unemployment upon the human personality to conclude that work and the sense of social belonging and usefulness it provides, is still - and will continue to be for a long time - a value of prime importance to man and a necessary basis for his creative development. (24)

The prospect that productive work, gainful employment, or any other form of productive activity will drastically lose their importance is a bleak one, particularly so in the light of current economic forecasts as they have been developed by various East and West European countries, and in view of the aspirations that the majority of Europeans tend to express in their behaviour. Let it only be recalled that regardless of the dramatic warnings launched by such influential bodies as the Club of Rome, we can see in the two parts of Europe a continuous - individual and group - effort aiming at further expansion in the key areas of technology and economic development. Both the relatively less developed Eastern bloc, and also most of the highly developed Western countries, plan and intend to increase substantially, or even double, their Gross National Product in the forthcoming 10-15 years. (25)

V. THE SCOPE AND LEVEL OF "CROSS–SYSTEMS" COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

In both parts of Europe there is a growing interest in research on post-compulsory education. However, the main body of the relevant analysis and literature tends only to revolve around school problems taken largely in isolation ; not enough attention is being paid to the environment outside school. What is lacking is an attempt to study the development - across the board - of an interaction between education and the world outside school, particularly its social and economic sectors. The great weakness of most of the current literature is that it focuses on the narrow horizons of the class-room and does not pay enough attention either to determinants outside the school of in-school educational processes, or to those new educational demands that are originating outside education altogether. Another striking weakness stems from the fact that even when one tries to relate educational problems to their wider social context, one tends to look at the topic either from short range and through short-sighted glasses, or in such a long-term perspective that the real impact of social context on today's educational development is inevitably lost to view. To bridge this gap - between narrowly oriented and short-term research and further reaching, more speculative futurological analysis - it is necessary to adopt what might be called a middle-range strategy. In my opinion this last type of research requires :

1. the design of a framework which would make it possible to translate cognitive aspirations and empirical findings into guidelines for practical action ;

2. the development of a method of historical analysis and the construction of the hypotheses necessary to carry out such an

analysis, thus enabling the studied phenomena not only to be placed in their historical context, but also to formulate working hypotheses as to their future development ;

3. the restriction of the scope of future studies to a period of 15-20 years, i.e. to the time-span which is necessary to foresee and plan the conditions that the next generation will have to face.

If we look at the contemporary European educational setting we will find that the basic questions concerning continuing education and its possible development in the near future are still not being answered in any satisfactory way. One reason for this may lie in the fact that prevailing investigations are usually limited to traditionally defined "adult education", as a separate form of education, and do not try to analyse from the perspective of continuing education the regular school system as well as educational activities outside school and methods of distance teaching such as television, radio, and the like. What is badly needed is research which will enable us to follow systematically the development of continuing education in its fullest scope, regardless of its institutional affiliations. However, before starting this, one should, for both theoretical and empirical purposes, distinguish within the concept of "continuing education" two basic levels of analysis.

In attempting to distinguish the most relevant levels of analysis for research in continuing education, it is necessary to develop tools and indices for detecting possible deviations and distortions from what is officially expected, and what is in fact being achieved in the process of implementation of the concept. To the extent that all models of educational reform based on continuing education adhere to a highly democratic and anti-elitist ideology, an in-depth confrontation of the model with the reality of its implementation might allow verification of the hypothesis, that the school system, instead of being an agent of social mobility, in fact tends merely to preserve and reproduce the existing social and political structure of society.

If the necessary evidence could be made available it would prove or disprove convincingly the capacity of continuing education to change society. One should remember that the effect of education on social mobility and, more generally, on the socio-economic structure of society, can only become clear after a longer time-span. In the short-term it is much more likely that the reverse will be true, that social and political structures, including the dominant ideology and the most powerful socio-professional interest groups - will exercise pressures on the school system sufficient to hinder the realization of reforms based on the principles of continuing education. Unfortunately, many of these structural influences defeat attempts to quantify them, define them operationally and to make them measurable.

What is it then that can be specified and measured and, at the same time, be deserving of our attention when we choose problems and fields of observation in cross-s, tems comparative studies ? Assuming that the seeds of a future model of continuing education are present in today's social and cultural realities, we are able to point to the following possibilities :

1. The area of the *economy* and *socio-professional structures*
   At the macro-level one should take into account such indices as : income differentials between less and more "educated" employees, and the role which qualifications play in socio-professional advancement. And at the level of the individual : how social background affects the various types of motivation that make people decide to participate in further education, the extent to which the impact of money, social position, power and prestige on this motivation can be demonstrated, and its relationship to other opposing, more intrinsic types of motivation ?

2. The field of *educational policy* and *education structures.*
   At the macro-level special attention must be given to the economic accessibility of the post-compulsory school system : for example what the individual and the state should share in costs,

who should be eligible for financial support and the like. Also the relations between day and adult education institutions and whether or not the major educational institutions fulfill the same functions as continuing education ? At the micro-level an object of careful study should be the teacher, his or her social status and prestige in society, his readiness to accept new roles in a changing school system ; and - one of the most sensitive questions - how far teachers are prepared to share decision making with sudents ?

3. The area of *culture* and *inter-generation relationships*
Apart from those studies which assist us to understand the basic influence of national history on present attitudes, and to evaluate education in this perspective, a considerable research effort must also be undertaken at the level of the individual. Some insights into the changes in the dominant aspirations held by different social and professional strata would be particularly helpful. It would shed light on the role played by post-compulsory education in shaping these aspirations and on the place they hold both in their own right and in relation to other competing values such as material goods, power and social status. So far as inter-generation relationships are concerned, particularly those between young people and their parents, there is a constant need to verify the extent to which older generations are ready to sacrifice their own aspirations in favour of their offspring, and how different types of family and social group compare with regard to this.

For each of these areas and levels of educational research, a specific set of hypotheses must be formulated indicating the appropriate research instruments which need to be developed, and the methods and goals designed for the analysis of the empirical data. Clearly, this is too complex a task to be carried out by a single research-worker; it will only be adequately performed by team work.

In conclusion, and with a view to starting the discussion, we outline below some very preliminary results of our thinking on these themes. Bearing in mind the need for a 15-20 year time-span we would hypothesise as follows :

1. The worldwide trend of a decline in "returns" on investment in post-compulsory and especially higher education, will continue in both West and Eastern Europe. However, in spite of short-term fluctuations, it will not lead to a reduction in the pressure for admissions to higher education - on the contrary the reverse is likely to happen.

2. Our main reason for suggesting this is to be sought in a situation unique to modern European as well as American history, namely that the process of rejuvenation of the age structure of society as a result of the post-war "baby-boom, overlaps with very profound changes in socio-professional structure and cultural values. These three powerful factors taken together may produce an ever higher demand for education, a demand that will be becoming less and less determined by economic factors.

3. The coincidence of a declining "pay-off" from higher education, with an increase in non-economic considerations in responding to demand will work in favour of a restructuring of the present framework of educational motivation : which will lose its role of being a highly effective instrument in securing access to rewarding economic positions, money and wealth. Rather education will tend to serve more and more efficiently as a tool to secure, either (a) access to positions warranting social prestige but not providing those special economic benefits which pertain to high or powerful managerial functions etc..., or (b) ensuring access to intellectually and psychologically more fulfilling types of task, for example work that is clean, healthy, stimulating, creative, and not boring, and which also facilitates the improvement of one's own quality of life outside the worksetting, or (c), a combination of (a) and (b).

4. In the long run, the less effective that the capital or money input into educational services at the highest level is, the stronger and more frequent will become non-economic factors in the motivation of students to enrol in education ; this same interdependence will work strongly in favour of the kind of motivation which leads to an interest in continuing education in its more radical understanding.

These hypotheses are deliberately only of a general character. They are mainly concerned with the sphere of socio-cultural phenomena and their impact on people's attitudes towards education, our view being that these attitudes and the motivation and aspirations they engender are in fact a response to the influence that new factors in the economic situation and new forms of social and professional structure can exert on the individual. While attempting to verify empirically these potential influences, particularly with regard to their impact on the wider acceptance of continuing education, at least two hypotheses should be considered, which we would argue are of central importance and as a result of which our perspectives for a radical reform of educational systems based on the concept of continuing education will be enhanced. They can be formulated as follows :

1. The more completely that the idea of continuing education is integrated into the basic system of economic and socio-cultural incentives of human activity in a given society, and also the more integrated that it is with human motivation and aspirations ; and

2. The more promptly and efficiently the educational system as a whole undergoes a fundamental overhaul, as a result of which its structures and curricula will be based on the principles of continuing education, the more quickly will the basic educational system be integrated with adult education and other educational activities outside school.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The formulation of this research question was undertaken during my collaboration with Professor Hayrynen of the Karelian University in Joensun. See : Wladyslaw W. Adamski, Yrjo-Paavo Hayrynen : "Educational Systems", paper delivered to the Polish-Finnish Conference in June 1977, in Sopot, Poland.

2. Ladislav Cerych : "Youth Employment : Potentials and Limits of the Education System", paper presented at the "International Symposium on Youth, Education Employment", Fère-en-Tardenois, April 27-20, 1977, organized by the Institute of Education of the European Cultural Foundation and International Council for Educational Development.

3. A French study carried out by the Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes des Chefs d'Entreprise shows that "a considerable proportion of young persons are displeased and dissatisfied with their first job". Young people's opinions as to the prevailing lack of satisfaction towards the work offered to them is determined mainly by such factors as the monotony of their tasks, submission to the hierarchy of authority, and the disparity between the position of a priviliged consumer and that of a subordinate post within the working milieu. See : Annex to the Report by the Education Committee of the European Communities on "Preparation for Working Life and for Transition from Education to Work", October 1976, Brussels.

4. The most complete analysis of social differentiation in the access of young people to higher education in Western Europe can be found in Professor Raymond Boudon's study. As the author persuasively argues, during the sixties for every thousand active males from the lower classes the number of students from the same social class was : in the Federal Republic of Germany -1,4 o/o, in France - 4,6 o/o, in the Netherlands - 1,6 o/o, in Sweden - 5,5 o/o, whereas in the same period, comparable indices for students from the middle class were as follows : the Federal Republic -23,0 o/o, France - 40,8 o/o, Netherlands - 24,6 o/o, Sweden - 52,6 o/o. See : R. Boudon : "Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality", New York, London 1974, p. 45.

5. The principle of "equal opportunity" has been particularly well analysed in relation to higher eduation. The criterion most often used to measure equality of opportunity relates the social composition of the student population to the social structure. In the socialist countries the objective that is being pursued is generally formulated as follows : "in organising and developing the system of higher education, socialist society sees to it that the social composition of the student body corresponds as much as possible to the real social structure of society". See : A.G. Afanasyev : "Training and Education in the Condition of the Scientific and Technological Revolution", in : "Sociology and the Present Age", Moscow 1974, p. 52.

6. Indices of social selection at the level of higher education are as follows : 1. In Hungary among the population of youth aged 18-24, 34 o/o of the children from families of the executive intelligentsia attended full-time studies, of the other white collar groups 27 o/o, of the skilled industrial workers 7 o/o and of children of agriculture workers 3 o/o. See : Z. Ferge : "Tarsadalmunk rétegzödése", Budapest 1969, p. 211 ; 2. In the Estonian Republic of the USSR, workers accounted in 1970 for 47,3 o/o of the total population and 36,2 o/o of the students in higher education were children of workers. See : "Socialnaya i professionalnaya orientacya Molodiezi... w SSSR", Tallin 1977, p. 101 ; 3. In Poland youth from worker families accounted for 30 o/o of the total enrolment in the academic year 1974/75, whereas this class accounts for over 40 o/o of population ; at the same time young people from an agricultural background accounted for 13 o/o of the enrolment - i.e. about half of the relative share of agricultural workers in the total active population. See : Rocznik Szkolnictwa, GUS, 1976.

7. Authors of research on young industrial workers aged 18 and 19 in Moscow point to the "contradiction between the relatively high level of general youth education and the non-qualified or low-qualified work they have to perform". The question "Do you like the work you are doing now ?" was answered affirmatively by 70 o/o of the sample. See : H.A. Slesariev, P.M. Erenburg, A.A. Trubeckaya : "Socialnye istochniki popolnyenya robotchego Klassa" in : "Izmienenya socialnoy struktury socialistitcheskogo obshtschestva", Moscow, 1966, p. 143.

8. M. Trow : "Problems in Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. 1973, p. 16-17.

9. As the very interesting long-term research project of W.N. Shubkin carried out in the sixties in the Novosibirsk region shows, the conflict between "the socio-professional aspiration of the youth and objective needs of the society" is a significant obstacle towards the full realization of the principle of equal opportunity in socialist society. See : Sociologitcheskiye issledovanya vybora professii. Tartu, 1971, p. 14-45.

10. Jan Szczepanski has developed a very useful sociological theory which permits an identification of the functions which education in fact performs, he distinguishes in particular between functions that are "assumed" and functions that are "performed in reality". See : "Higher Education in Eastern Europe", ICED Occasional Paper nr. 12, New York 1974, p. 10.

11. See : "Rapport o stanie os wiaty w PRL", Warszawa 1973, p. 115.

12. R. Wroczynski : "Edukacja permanentna", Warszawa 1976, p. 252.

13. K. Von Moltke, N. Schneevoigt : "Educational Leave for Employees", Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, 1977, p. 96-97.

14. H. Lentonen, J. Tuomisto : "Participation in Adult Education in Finland", in : "Adult Education in Finland", Nr. 1-2, 1975, p. 6-12.

15. S. Andrzejak, M. Siekulicka : "Absolwenci szkol wyzszych w 30 - leciu Polski Ludowej", Warszawa, 1974, p. 32.

16. W. Adamski : Postawy spoleczno-zawodowe mlodziezy pracujacej. In "Studia Socjologiczne" nr. 2, 1974, p. 32.

17. "Education and working life in modern society. A report by the Secretary General's ad hoc group on the relation between Education and Employment". OECD, Paris, 1975, p. 7-9.

18. "Raport o stanie oswiaty", op.cit. p. 242.

19. See : J. Embling : "Introduction", in "Between school and work", European Foundation Cultural Foundation, Institute of Education, 1976, p. 13.

20. A. Toffler : Future shock, New York 1970.

21. B. Suchodolski : "Some Philosophical Aspects....", in : "Fondations of Lifelong Education", Ed. R.H. Dave, UNESCO Institute for Education, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1976, p. 93.

22. See : V. Houghton and others, 1974, p. 18-19.

23. See : T. Husén : "The Equality - Meritocracy Dillemma in Higher Education", in : "The University's Response to Societal Demand". Ed. Ph. G. Altbach, ICED, 1975, p. 197.

24. The destructive impact of long lasting unemployment on the personality of young employees has recently been noted by some leading Roman Catholic writers. See for example : "Chômage ou emploi pour les jeunes dans la Communauté européenne ?" Final report of a colloquium held in Brussels on 3 December 1976 under the auspices of the Permanent Commission of Caritas Europe.

25. See : "Modes de Vie 1985. Une première fresque des modes de vie des Français dans les prochaines décennies", CREDOC, Paris, 1973.

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Siège principal

Université de Paris IX-Dauphine
1, place du Maréchal de Lattre de Tassigny
F - 75116 PARIS
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